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PART I. — RELIGION AND MYTHS.

I. — HISTORICAL REMARKS.

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The Koryak have remained until now the least known of all the tribes of Siberia. So far no one has made a special study of them. Steller, Krasheninnikoff, Dittmar, Baron von Maydell, and Slunin refer to them more or less fully.

The two travellers first mentioned[1] devoted themselves more than others to the ethnographical description of the Kamchatka-Okhotsk region, mainly of the Kamchadal. Up to the present time their descriptions furnish the only trustworthy ethnographical material on Kamchatka; but the science of ethnography in the eighteenth century — i. e., at the time when those scientists were making a study of the tribes of northeastern Asia — was in a rudimentary state, and the methods applied by them can no longer be regarded as satisfactory. Steller, for instance, in his book on the Kamchadal, says that there are no special shamans, and that they have no special shamanistic garb and no drums;[2] and at the same time his book contains three illustrations representing front, back, and side views of a shaman dressed in ceremonial garb, beating the drum and performing shamanistic rites. The illustrations are clearly those of a Tungus shaman dressed in a coat with tassels, and other paraphernalia characteristic of Tungus shamanism; but the legends to the illustrations state that they represent a shaman of the Kamchadal.[3] Krasheninnikoff describes some exceedingly interesting ceremonies during the annual fall festival of the Kamchadal, but fails to explain them in any way. Both Krasheninnikoff and Steller, in describing Kamchatka, mention the Koryak; but the authors' information of the religious conceptions of the Koryak is meagre and faulty, although there is no doubt that in the first half of the eighteenth century a good deal of what has now disappeared was in existence. Of the Reindeer Koryak, Krasheninnikoff tells us[4] that they have no festivals, have no conception of God, but only of devils;[5] and, further, that the Maritime Koryak worship as a deity "Ku'tkhu" of the Kamchadal.

Dittmar visited the Koryak region in 1852. He was a mining engineer,

[1] They were members of the so-called "Kamchatka Expedition," which lasted from 1733 to 1743.
[2] Steller, p. 277.
[3] Ibid., Plates o-r, opp. p. 284.
[4] Krascheninnikoff, II, p. 217.
[5] Ibid., p. 214.

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114 and was sent by the government to carry on geographical and geological explorations. While on his way, he gathered some ethnographical material, and wrote a separate article on the Koryak,[1] which was of great interest because of the lack of all other information. In regard to the Koryak religion, he informs us that they worship the good god by the name Apa'pel,[2] whereas apa'pel means "grandfather," and the Koryak apply it to their sacred rocks, hills, capes, to all of which sacrifices are offered.

Baron von Maydell (1868-70), an official attached to the Yakut governor, was sent to investigate the question whether the Chukchee could be induced to submit to Russian rule. While on his way, he accumulated a great deal of new geographical data, which constitute the principal subject-matter of his work. A considerable part of his report is devoted to a superficial and incidental description of the tribes with which he came in contact, and of their economic life. In his historical account concerning the conflicts of the Russians with the Chukchee he devotes some space to the Koryak. He relates the impressions produced upon him while passing through Koryak villages and camps; but his account contains no material relating to the religion of the people. His method of ethnographical investigation may well be understood from the following fact, which he, by the way, sets forth in his own praise.[3] On his arrival at the Koryak village Shestakova (Leñle'ñčan), on the river Shestakovka (Ega'č River), he found that the Koryak consider it a sin to enter the underground house in winter through the closed summer entrance. He considered it, however, inconsistent with the dignity of an official to crawl down into the house through the upper smoke-hole,[4] and commanded his cossacks to break through the lower entrance of the house with axes. Then the host asked him not to injure the house, and he himself opened the lower entrance.

Dr. N. V. Slunin, a surgeon in the navy, was a member of the expedition (1896-98) sent out by the government in charge of Prof. K. I. Bogdanovich, a mining-engineer, for the purpose of investigating the natural resources of the Okhotsk-Kamchatka region. His work on that region is mainly a compilation, but it affords an excellent body of information on the history, statistics, economic life, and natural history of the country. He has borrowed a great part of his ethnographical information, without critical examination, from Krasheninnikoff and Steller, and it is therefore antiquated. Slunin, for instance, has reprinted[5]

[1] Dittmar, Die Korjaken (see List of authorities quoted, p. 4).

[2] Ibid., p. 30. [3] Maydell, I, p. 237.

[4] This refers to the underground buildings of the Maritime Koryak. Their houses consist of two parts,—a large living-room and a narrow porch. In the summer they enter the house through the entrance-door. During the winter this door is boarded up; and the opening in the roof which lets the smoke out serves as an entrance. The roof of the porch, from which a door leads into the living-room, also has a round opening, which is closed with a cork-shaped plug. When there is a fire on the hearth of the living-room, the plug is taken out from the opening in the roof of the porch for a draught.

[5] Slunin, I, pp. 399, 401.

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from Steller's book some pictures of Japanese gods, which Steller[1] represents as the Kamchatka good and evil deities, and of whom no mention at all is made in the text of Steller's book. Slunin's personal observations do not add much new material to the ethnographical information which he obtained at second-hand.

Mr. Bogoras has had the kindness to place at my disposal the Koryak myths from Kamchatka and from the Pacific coast recorded by him.[2] These have been embodied in the present work on the Koryak. Besides this, he has revised and corrected the transcriptions of all Koryak names, words, incantations, and other Koryak phrases, contained in this book. Mr. Bogoras made a special study of both the Chukchee and the Koryak languages, which are closely related to each other.

Nicholas Vilkhin, a Russianized Koryak of the settlement of Gishiginsk, assisted me on the spot in recording and translating the myths. For scientific purposes he is the only tolerably good interpreter in the Gishiga district. He has equal command of the local Russian dialect and the Koryak language, and is more intelligent than two or three other Russianized Koryak who also live there, and who are at the same time familiar with both languages. Still I had to labor hard before I had him trained for the work. The cossacks' and other Russian settlers' knowledge of the Koryak language scarcely goes further than simple phrases used in trade, and their language frequently represents a peculiar Koryak-Russian jargon. It goes without saying that the Russian interpreters proved unfit for my purposes. Vilkhin was in the employ of the expedition throughout my entire stay in the Gishiga district.

The Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka, although still preserving their language, have long since embraced Christianity, and, setting aside a number of superstitions, have forgotten their former religion. The same may be said, to a great extent, of the Alutora Maritime Koryak, who also have been converted to Christianity; but, according to Mr. Bogoras, the latter have preserved a great number of myths. The Reindeer Koryak, however, as well as the Maritime Koryak north of Alutorsky Cape, along the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the Maritime Koryak inhabiting the shores of Penshina Bay, have to a considerable extent preserved their primitive religion. The efforts of the Russians to convert them to the Orthodox faith have so far proved futile. Especially the Maritime Koryak who live nearest to the settlement of Gishiginsk, the Russian centre of the Gishiga district, prove to be more conservative in matters pertaining to religion than those who come in contact with the Koryak of Kamchatka, like the inhabitants of the villages of Kamenskoye (Va'ikenan), Talovka (Xe's'xen), Ma'meč, and Reki'nnok.[3] But,

[1] Steller, 3 plates opp. p. 252.

[2] The following tales were recorded by Mr. Bogoras: Nos. 97-109 and 115-139.

[3] See map. In the text Russian names of villages, rivers, etc., have been used. If there are Koryak names, these have been added in parentheses. Koryak names only are used when there are no Russian names.

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V. — FESTIVALS AND SACRIFICES.

Festivals.

The cycle of festivals is different among the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak, owing to the difference of their means of subsistence. A cult of the animals upon which their livelihood depends is developed among both groups; the Maritime Koryak worshipping sea-animals, while the Reindeer Koryak worship the reindeer herd. All the religious festivals of the Koryak centre around these animals.

Festivals of the Maritime Koryak. — Following are the main festivals of the Maritime Koryak: the whale festival; the celebration at the putting-away of the boat for the winter; and that at its launching in the summer. To the religious customs of the Maritime Koryak belongs also that of wearing masks.

The Whale Festival. — The whale festival is considered the most important one. It is called Yañya-ena'čixtitgin, which literally means "whale-service." Every killing of a whale is celebrated with a "whale-service;" but the main whale festival occurs in the fall, usually in October, after the capture of a whale. Since whales are very seldom obtained nowadays, the ceremony is celebrated in connection with the capture of a white whale.

In describing the fall festival of the Kamchadal, Krasheninnikoff calls it the festival "of expiation of sins." Judging from the description of the rites performed during this festival, it abounds in interesting details; but, unfortunately, their inner meaning remained unknown to Krasheninnikoff. In one passage[1] he states that the means of expiation of sins was confession. Women suffering from nervous fits confessed transgressions of various taboos committed by them, and were then comforted by one of the old men. Such a confession of transgressions of taboos constitutes the expiation from sins also among the Eskimo.[2]

On the other hand, it may be seen from Krasheninnikoff's description, not only that this was a family festival, but that all inhabitants of a given village took part in it, even those not related to each other.[3] It signified

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 125.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 121.

[3] In the description it is not mentioned in whose house the celebration took place; but Mr. Bogoras (Anthropologist, p. 606) interprets the description as meaning that there were special ceremonial houses among the Kamchad. Krasheninnikoff tells (II, p. 135) how the women of the house in which the festival was celebrated (apparently the winter house) walked off to the balagans (that is, the summer huts raised on posts), and how each returned into the house with sacrificial grass and provisions. The grass and provisions were received by two men appointed for that purpose. The grass was hung upon the charms; and the provisions, especially dried fish, were chopped with a hatchet, and returned to the woman from whom they had been taken, only a small piece being thrown into the fire as a sacrifice. Each women also put some sacrificial grass upon the hearth. Then they passed from one corner to the other, treating each other with dried fish, as a symbol of a future abundance of food-supply.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

that the summer and fall hunting seasons were over, and was intended to influence the deity so that the hunt of the following year would also prove successful, and that the winter would pass without sickness, or visitation of the kalau. This is Steller's interpretation of this festival, to which he devotes only a few lines. Krasheninnikoff also describes how a grass whale filled with blubber and other kinds of provisions is made. It was tied to the back of one of the women, and at a certain moment those who participated in the celebration threw themselves upon it, tore it up, and ate it, apparently in imitation of a successful hunt.

Parry[1] tells, that, among the Central Eskimo, the capture of a whale is celebrated by a great festival. According to his brief description, the whale is hauled inside of a stone enclosure about five feet high. Several men flense it, and throw the pieces of meat over the stone wall. The crowd which stands on the other side catch the flying pieces; while the women, who are inside, sing, forming a circle, in the centre of which are the whale and the men who carve it.

The killing of a whale was also celebrated by the Aleut with a feast, with beating of drums, dances, and masks. The dances had a mystic significance. Some of the men were dressed in their most showy attire; while others danced naked, wearing large wooden masks, which reached to their shoulders, and represented various sea-animals.[2]

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak have no festivals, and adds,[3] that the Maritime Koryak observe their festivals at the same time as the Kamchadal, but that they are as little capable of explaining the meaning of their ceremonies as the Kamchadal. Unfortunately Krasheninnikoff does not offer any, not even a superficial, description of the festivals of the Maritime Koryak, which would be interesting for the purpose of comparing the rites of a previous period with those observed by me.

The essential part of the whale festival is based on the conception that the whale killed has come on a visit to the village; that it is staying for some time, during which it is treated with great respect; that it then returns to the sea to repeat its visit the following year; that it will induce its relatives to come along, telling them of the hospitable reception that has been accorded to it. According to the Koryak ideas, the whales, like all other animals, constitute one tribe, or rather family, of related individuals, who live in villages, like the Koryak. They avenge the murder of one of their number, and are grateful for kindnesses that they may have received.

The whale festival is not a family festival, but a communal one. All the inhabitants of the village participate in it; but the owner of the skin boat by whose crew the whale has been killed, acts as the host, and takes charge of the festival. He invites his neighbors; and the celebration, which lasts a few days, takes place in his own house or in the largest one of the village.

[1] Parry, II, p. 362. [2] Dall, p. 139. [3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 217.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

on rocks. The lichen and moss tundras are frequently intermixed, one forming islands in the other. Wherever the tundra is hilly, or where it has slopes which serve to drain certain parts of it, phanerogamous plants appear.

However, the large tundras enumerated above do not represent a continuous plain surface. At some places they are cut up by ravines or by dales watered by rivulets, or they form a hilly surface with mounds and rocks, denuded by atmospheric influences. In this manner, plain marshy, swampy spaces, covered with stagnant water which cannot penetrate the frozen soil, alternate with more or less dry earthy or stony slopes from which all precipitation is carried off, or with dank dome-like or oblong hills standing alone in the midst of the tundra, and often covered with bushes and trees. These hills are called yedoma (едома) by the Russian settlers of northern Siberia, — a name of unknown origin.

Neither are these tundras entirely devoid of arboreal vegetation, which is found here and there, forming, as it were, oases. Some ravines and the banks of some streams have a scant growth of slender willows, thin poplars, and crooked, stunted birches; and the summits and slopes of hills are often covered with low stone-pines, which serve as the only but excellent fuel for the nomadic Koryak and for travellers who occasionally spend the night in the tundra. The hard and solid wood of the stone-pine and its creeping roots burn slowly, and produce a strong heat.

Coasts. — The coasts of the Koryak territory, particularly those of the Okhotsk Sea, have many small bays, which evidently have proved favorable to the formation of permanent Maritime settlements. With the exception of the eastern shore of Kamchatka, almost the entire coast-line is a continuous steep rocky shore (either of granite or gneiss, as for instance on the Taigonos Peninsula, or of schistose rock), with reefs and small rocky islands lying near by, upon which the Koryak of former times used to seek shelter when attacked by enemies. Only the mouths of the rivers are sandy. For this reason the shores, particularly those of the bays of the Okhotsk Sea, are very difficult of access by vessels. Besides, the water in the bays is very shallow, and the sand-bars and sand-banks at the mouths of the rivers prevent vessels from coming close to shore.

The largest bays are those of Gishiga and Penshina in the Okhotsk Sea, and Baron Korff's Bay in Bering Sea. It is curious that on Steller's map of the Okhotsk-Kamchatka region the Taigonos Peninsula is not indicated, and the two bays which are separated from each other by that peninsula are thrown together under the name of Penshina Bay.[1] Gishiga Bay extends into the continent for about 170 miles. The head of Gishiga Bay is so shallow, that steamers have to anchor from sixteen to twenty miles below the

[1] See Steller, map opp. p. 12.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of family relations, the sexual relations of the Koryak, compared with those of their neighbors, are remarkably pure for a primitive tribe. This should make the possibility of infection through sexual intercourse rare. It is likely that the contagion spread simply through contact, in consequence of their lack of aversion to things eaten by others and of the excessive filth obtaining among them.

Leprosy, so widely spread among the Yakut, is not found at all among the Koryak. Slunin says that the Kamchadal also are exempt from it.[1] The Yakut, also Russian immigrants, half-blood descendants of Kamchadal and Russians or Yakut, and to some extent the Tungus, are subject to this disease. Personally I did not meet with a single instance of a Tungus affected by leprosy.

From time to time a contagious disease similar to grippe in its prolonged and severe form, accompanied with many complications, spreads among the Koryak, and each time it claims a few score victims. This disease was introduced by the Russians. At the time of my arrival at the Russian town of Gishiginsk (August, 1900), almost its entire Russian population, the cossacks included, were down with the grippe.

The remedies used by the Kamchadal are not used by the Koryak. In case of sickness they have recourse to shamanism, family charms, and incantations. They readily apply for help to a Russian physician or to travellers, whom they regard as shamans, and take their medicine gladly. Wounds heal with remarkable rapidity after they have been dressed, and antiseptics have been applied to them. The Koryak usually leave their wounds open, for they have not the necessary material with which to dress them. Hare's hair is frequently applied by them to a wound; but the hairs stick to it, and dirt accumulates, and it is surprising how the wounds heal at all under such conditions. By applying the proper dressing, we often succeeded in healing in a few days ulcers, cuts, and wounds from which they had been suffering for months.

MENTAL TRAITS. — There is quite a disparity of opinion among travellers in reference to the psychological and moral traits of the Koryak.

Krasheninnikoff says, "They are all exceedingly rude, irascible, ill-disposed, spiteful, and unmerciful;"[2] but in another place he says, "The Koryak are truthful, diligent, and endowed with a sense of shame."[3] On the same page he says that the Maritime Koryak are more courageous than their Reindeer brothers.

Dittmar says that the Koryak are "good-natured, honest, strictly truthful, and do not know deceit. But should any one offend their sense of honor, or insult them, their anger is lasting, and they seek to avenge themselves."[4]

[1] Slunin, I, p. 529. [2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202. [3] Ibid., II, p. 203.
[4] Dittmar, Die Koriaken, pp. 26, 27.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R74 Koryak R74

With reference to the Paren and Kamenskoye people, Dittmar says in another place that they are "of a restless, warlike nature, or, rather, they have the nature of robbers, which has made for them a number of enemies,"[1] and that the wandering Koryak visit them only in case of dire necessity. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are, according to Dittmar,[2] such an honest, straight-forward people, that he expresses a wish that the demoralizing influence of civilization should not touch their pure patriarchal life.

Maydell, on the contrary, considers the Koryak a wily people, who have caused a good deal of harm to the Russians by their pretended submission and treacherous revolts.[3]

Slunin says of the Maritime Koryak, that they are "more advanced, more receptive, have better morals (?), and are more sociable in their manners,"[4] than the Reindeer Koryak, but are not very hospitable; while hospitality, and readiness to come to the assistance of the needy, constitute, on the contrary, a distinctive trait of the nomadic Koryak.

Kennan[5] also praises the Reindeer Koryak for their honesty and hospitality, while the picture he draws of the Maritime Koryak is anything but attractive. "They are," says Kennan, "cruel and brutal in disposition, insolent to everybody, revengeful, dishonest, and untruthful. The settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf are unquestionably the worst, ugliest, most brutal and degraded natives in all northeastern Siberia; more trouble than all the other inhabitants of Siberia and Kamchatka together."

Personally I believe that the principal traits of character of the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak are much alike. They are proud, independent, inclined to brag; their passions are easily aroused; they take offence readily, and try to avenge themselves by any possible means. They are hospitable and sociable with people in whom they have confidence, but do not conceal their dislike for those who are unfriendly to them, or who, for some reason or another, did not gain their favor. They do not fear death, and they cannot be frightened by anything. For reasons such as the death of a relative, quarrels, or wrath, suicide has frequently been committed among them, as well as among the Chukchee, even recently.

In former times, owing to these traits of character, feuds, or misunderstandings among the Koryak, or between them and other tribes, ended in mutual slaughter. At present, their manners are somewhat gentler, but in dealing with them one must always take into consideration their obstinacy, austerity, and dauntlessness.

Together with the Chukchee, the Koryak are the only Siberian tribe whose attitude toward the Russian authorities is that of almost perfect independence. However, the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, and

[1] Dittmar, Die Korjaken, p. 12. [2] Ibid., p. 34. [3] Maydell, I, pp. 367–373.
[4] Slunin, I, p. 392. [5] Kennan, pp. 197, 203, 209.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R94 Koryak R94

relations would have undergone a complete change. Unfortunately the fair lasted but a few days, and my plans were such that after the fair I had to go to the Taigonos Peninsula.

The discrepancy in the accounts given by various travellers of the characteristics of the Reindeer and Maritime Koryak can, it seems to me, be explained by the fact that the Reindeer people, being nomadic, could always get away from unwelcome visitors, and the Russians did not know where to find the camps which they desired to visit; while the Maritime Koryak, being established in certain places, could not escape undesirable visits, and were compelled to offer resistance when they did not wish to yield to the demands of the Russians.

One demand of the cossacks always irritates the Koryak, and that is the exaction of conveyance without charge. The Koryak, as a rule, have few driving-dogs, and, moreover, food must be taken along for the dogs, even if there is not enough left for the people. In this respect the Reindeer Koryak are more favorably situated. It is a trifle for a wealthy reindeer-owner to give a few reindeer for driving. He does not suffer any privation by rendering such service, and therefore is not irritated by demands of this sort.

The same is true regarding their hospitality. The Maritime Koryak are as hospitable as those of the Reindeer branch, but they have nothing acceptable to offer to a white person. He will not eat seal-meat with blubber. Not even all cossacks can eat the food of the Koryak, who feel insulted if any one shows aversion to it. Besides, the Maritime Koryak themselves often suffer from a scarcity of food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are in a position to offer reindeer-meat to the white man.

The Maritime Koryak, for instance, never offered me food, unless I myself asked them for dried fish, while they always treated my people with food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the contrary, always treated us to boiled reindeer-tongues, a delicacy kept for guests of honor.

On the whole, I retain a good impression of the Koryak. They are hard to get along with if one does not know their ways. They are churlish, rude, and quarrelsome, if displeased; but they do not flatter, are truthful, straightforward, and, when in good-humor, good-natured and jocose.

Mr. Kennan's remarks about the Kamentsi may be explained by the fact that the agents of the Russian-American Company, in whose employ he was, either paid the Koryak, under the patronage of the Russian authorities, very poorly or not at all for their services, or treated them arrogantly, as they did the meek and humble Kamchadal. This is the only way in which I can reconcile the relations between the Maritime Koryak and the employees of the Telegraph Company as described by Mr. Kennan. Some old Russians in Gishiginsk told me that the agents of the company paid by slips or receipts, the money for which has not yet been collected.

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Krasheninnikoff's opinion, that theft is regarded by the Koryak as laudable,[1] is utterly unjust. In former times it was considered right to plunder enemies; but this was a form of spoil, and not theft. Their language has a word for stealing (ti-to'latiñ, "I steal"); but cases of theft are rare. If one is convicted of stealing, the owner takes away the stolen things, and just laughs at the thief.[2]

During the whole of my sojourn among the Koryak I lost nothing from my belongings. My boxes and bags, packed full of provisions, and goods for exchange and presents, — all of considerable value, and sealed only with a sealing-wax seal, — were frequently left by me outside, or in the care of a Koryak, to be taken to some other place in my absence; and never a thing was lost. On the contrary, on the two occasions on which I did lose things in the Gishiga district, the theft was committed by Russian drivers.

The orders that I gave to the Koryak for models, or for the acquisition of articles for my collection, were carried out by them honestly and promptly. On one occasion only did a trader — a Koryak from the Mikino settlement, who had gone to the Opuka River for purposes of trade — send me fewer things than I ordered from him. In this case, his son, when I told him that according to my calculations his father was in debt to me, straightened out the difference by giving me a rug of reindeer-skins.

I will touch here on the sympathy of the Reindeer Koryak for human suffering. They are always ready to assist the starving — no matter who they may be, Maritime Koryak or Russians — by bringing them reindeer. The poor inhabitants of the Russian settlements, when their fish-supplies are exhausted toward spring, go to the Reindeer camps, and the Koryak slaughter reindeer for them, either for a trifling remuneration or on trust. The Russian drivers who, in the spring of 1900, took me and my belongings on seven dog-sledges to the Reindeer Koryak of the Topolovka River, left that place with their sledges loaded with slaughtered reindeer.

The mind of the Koryak, we may say, works as slowly as does his clumsy body, and gets tired as quickly. Very few of the women were able to dictate to me two tales in succession. Usually, after having told one tale, they would ask to be relieved, for they were tired. In taking my notes, I was obliged to stop frequently, for I could see that my interpreter was tired, and unable to follow my questions with proper attention.

The Koryak are very fond of knowledge. They followed with great interest the descriptions of the life of the people in other countries. Every novelty excites and attracts them; but their attention is not lasting. Our phonograph made the most striking impression wherever we went. Often a

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 220.

[2] From the myths we can also see that the Koryak do not regard theft as a virtue. Ene'mqut's wife, Ermine-Woman, being accused of stealing, was driven out of Big-Raven's house (Part I, p. 222).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

that of the Koryak of northern Kamchatka, of the Reindeer and Kamenskoye-Paren Koryak, Alutor Koryak, and the Kerek. Moreover, every group of Reindeer Koryak, and almost every village of Maritime people, have their own provincialisms, with a few insignificant phonetical and lexical peculiarities. Thus, for instance, there are phonetical and lexical differences even between the dialects of the Kamenskoye and Paren villages, which are so short a distance from each other.

Thus, in the Paren dialect, *a* of the Kamenskoye dialect is changed to *e*; and the same word may have a different meaning in each of the dialects, or different words may be used to express one and the same conception. For instance, a'pa in the Kamenskoye dialect means "grandfather," and in the Paren dialect, "father." In the Kamenskoye dialect, "mother" is expressed by a'n·a, and in the Paren dialect, by a'mma.

Dittmar[1] divides the Koryak language into five dialects, — that of the Reindeer Koryak, the Kamenskoye, the Ukinskoye, the Pallanskoye, and the Alutor. On the basis of the difference in the dialects pointed out by him, he divides the Koryak into five branches, — the Reindeer, Kamenskoye and Paren people (under which name he includes the inhabitants of eight villages between the Kamenskoye and Paren), Pallantsi (the inhabitants of seven settlements between Pustoretsk and Vayampolka), Ukintsi (the inhabitants of six settlements along the Pacific shore between Oserna and Karagha), and the Alutor people (the inhabitants of nine settlements north of Karagha). Passing over the fact that several settlements and entire groups of Koryak are not included in the branches of the Koryak enumerated above, as we shall see in Chapter III, the very basis of this division is wrong.

Almost all the Koryak have preserved their native tongue. They learn a foreign language with difficulty; and in their intercourse with other tribes, it is not they who take up the new tongue, but the foreigner, who is usually forced to learn the Koryak language. Thus, the Kamchadal, Tungus, and Russians, when living with the Koryak, have to learn to speak in the Koryak language. Even the Christianized Maritime Koryak of the northern part of Kamchatka, with but few exceptions, have not learned to speak Russian; and none of the Reindeer Koryak know the Russian language.

Of the Maritime Koryak, only two hundred (or 2.6 per cent) regard the Russian language as their mother-tongue. These are the inhabitants of the Nayakhan settlement in the Gishiga district, and the Koryak of the Okhotsk district (see Chapter III). The latter are intermixed to such an extent with other tribes (Tungus, Yakut, and Russians) that they can hardly be considered as genuine Koryak.

An insignificant number of Reindeer Koryak, wandering with the Tungus

[1] Dittmar, Die Koriken, p. 47.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

not know the names of the clans. On a part of the Reindeer Koryak, as we shall see later on, no tribute has been levied as yet, and they have not been given any clan-name.

The number of Koryak, Reindeer as well as Maritime, may be gathered from old official data, from those of the 1897 census, and from data collected by Mr. Bogoras and myself. The old official data — reprinted from year to year in the government reports, almost without change — relate to those groups only which were assessed for tribute, and the numbers there given are less than the actual numbers.

The statistics of the census of 1897 are more reliable.[1] This census was supposed to be taken on the same day over the entire empire; but in the sparsely settled districts of Siberia the enumerators spent several weeks covering each territory. Some of the remote places — for instance, the northern part of the Palpal, or the centre of the Parapol Dol — were never visited by enumerators, but they obtained their information second-hand. Nevertheless, the data of the census of 1897 are very nearly correct. The census bulletins of 1897 relating to northern Siberia have been worked up at the Central Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior in St. Petersburg by S. K. Patkanov, the first editor of that Bureau; but the results have not been published as yet. Mr. Patkanov,[2] however, has published a brief summary, based on the census, of the statistical and geographical data of the palæasiatic tribes, among which are the Koryak. I shall quote further from these data under the name of Patkanov. Mr. Patkanov also had the kindness, at my request, to send me from his material more detailed statistical data on the Koryak, of which also I shall make use.

The data collected by Mr. Bogoras and myself refer merely to those places which we visited personally, and will serve in verifying statistics relating to certain groups only.

We must distinguish the following groups of Reindeer Koryak.

Gishiga District. — 1. The Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula (Taigono'-talu, i. e., "the people of Taigonos"). They spend the winter seasons along the valleys of the rivers Topolovka (Maka'lᵃnu-ve'yem[3]), Kilimadja (Kili'-maćwon-ve'yem), Matuga (Ma'tukan-ve'yem), Chaibuga (Poye'm-yaᵃn-ve'yem), and Avekova (ɪ|ᵃ'taña-ve'yem[4]). Three or four families only roam in winter along the valley of the Gishiga River (Wui'vo-ve'yem[5]). In summer they ascend the mountains where these rivers have their sources. For the purpose

[1] This census was the first general enumeration of the people of the Russian Empire, not for purposes of taxation, but for statistical purposes only.

[2] See Part I, list of authorities quoted, p. 10.

[3] "River of the poplar people," from ma'kan ("poplar"); the Russian word "topol" (тополь) also means "poplar." The banks of this river abound in poplar-groves.

[4] ɪ|ᵃ'taña means "eye-woman."

[5] Wu'ivo formerly meant a fortified settlement, later on it was applied to Russian fortresses and also to Russian houses. Wu'ivon is now the Koryak name of the town of Gishiginsk.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

dwellings found on the islands of Yezo and Saghalin will be discussed in Chapter X, in the section on ancient pottery of the Koryak. 342 171

I stated before that Koryak underground houses no longer exist in Gishiga Bay; but remains of such ancient dwellings may be seen on the shores and islands of Gishiga Bay and the Okhotsk Sea as far as the village of Yamsk, and possibly still farther south.

A link between these remains and those of former Gilyak-Ainu earth dwellings and their present underground houses seems to be found in the ruins of such dwellings on the banks of the lower course of the Amur River and at its mouth,[1] which may also be ascribed to the ancient Gilyak.

Returning to the Arctic palæ-Asiatics, we find that the ancient Yukaghir had underground houses.[2] We shall discuss these dwellings in greater detail in the work devoted to the Yukaghir.

The Chukchee, even the Maritime branch of the tribe, now make their houses of reindeer-skins;[3] but along the Arctic shore, from Cape Erri (or Shelagski) to Bering Strait,[4] and along the Chukchee shore of Bering Sea, south of East Cape (or Chukotsky),[5] remains of underground dwellings are found. The frames of these houses were mainly of bone of whale, because timber was not available.

Wrangell, having heard from the Chukchee that these dwellings formerly belonged to the Onkilon, assumed that they were left by the Eskimo who had lived on the Asiatic shore of the Arctic, but who subsequently wandered off to America. It has been shown before (p. 407) that Onkilon is a wrongly recorded Chukchee-Koryak word, Añqala'n ("maritime dweller"). Even now the Koryak and the Chukchee apply this name to every maritime inhabitant. This name, however, does not throw any light on the tribal relationship of the dwellers. 342 114

From the resemblance between the remains of subterranean dwellings on the Asiatic shores of the Polar Sea and those found on the islands and the northern shores of America, Markham[6] has formed the theory that the Eskimo emigrated into Greenland from Asia, the groundlessness of which theory has been proved by Professor Boas.[7]

Schrenck[8] has suggested that the remains of underground houses along

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[1] For the pits of ancient dwellings on the Amur River see B. Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sachalin (Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Jena, Vol. V, pp. 321—330).

[2] See Hedenstrom in the Siberian Messenger, p. 105, and in Fragments about Siberia, p. 97; Wrangell, I, p. 7, II, p. 57; Müller, Sammlung, Russ. Gesch., III, p. 46; Pallas, Neue Nord. Beitr., I, pp. 234, 235.

[3] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 178.

[4] Wrangell, II, pp. 220, 221; Nordenskiöld, I, pp. 403–406, 456.

[5] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII. of this series, p. 180.

[6] R. Markham, On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux (The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society [London, 1865], Vol. XXXV, p. 87).

[7] See Boas, Ueber die ehemalige Verbreitung der Eskimos im arktisch-amerikanischen Archipel (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1883, Vol. XVIII, p. 118).

[8] Schrenck, II, p. 28.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

342 117 the shores of the Arctic Ocean were the ancient dwellings of the ancestors of the present Chukchee, in which they lived before they adopted the tent made of skins. On the shore of the Chukchee Peninsula in Bering Sea, Mr. Bogoras[1] saw remains of underground dwellings in the settlements of the Maritime Chukchee, as well as in those of the Asiatic Eskimo.

342 171 According to the description of Mr. Bogoras,[2] this underground dwelling, called by the Chukchee "jaw-bone house" (wa'lkar), had also two entrances; but, contrary to the Koryak underground house, the upper entrance at the upper part of the wall was used in summer, and in winter a long and narrow underground passage which in summer was filled up with water. The level of the floor of the inner room was above that of the underground passage, so that the water could not injure the living-room.

In houses of the Koryak, Kamchadal, Gilyak, and Ainu, on the other hand, the floor of the inner room, as mentioned before, is lower than that of the ante-room or the draught-passage. The underground houses of the Kamchadal were full of water in summer; and this explains, according to Steller and Krasheninnikoff,[3] why they lived in summer in houses built on piles. Like the Eskimo snow-house, the "jaw-bone house" of the Chukchee was heated and lighted by means of an oil-lamp. The opening in the roof, which was covered with the shoulder-blade of a whale, served only to admit light.

Turning to the American side, we see from the descriptions of Russian and other travellers, such as Sarytcheff,[4] Sauer,[5] Langsdorff,[6] and Veniaminov,[7] that an underground house similar to that of the Kamchadal served as the ancient dwelling of the Aleut. The frame was built of driftwood or whale-ribs. The opening in the roof served as smoke-hole, window, and entrance to the house, which was heated by a hearth fire, and the people descended to it by means of a notched log. Outside of the main living-room, or the middle of the house, were other smaller side-rooms with narrow passages leading outside, the latter being very much like the Kamchadal draught-channel.

From the Kadyak Islands along the American shores of Bering Sea and the Polar Ocean, as far as Greenland, we meet with remains of underground dwellings. The type of these dwellings shows some variations.

To judge from the descriptions of former travellers, underground houses of the Aleut type were met among the Eskimo in the southern part of Alaska; with this difference, however, that along with smaller underground

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 180.
[2] Ibid., pp. 181, 182.
[3] Steller, p. 212; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 40.
[4] Sarytcheff, Travels in the Northeastern Part of Siberia, St. Petersburg (Russian edition), II, pp. 14, 157.
[5] Billing's Reise (Berlin, 1802), p. 294.
[6] Langsdorff, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803–07 (Frankfurt a. M.), II, pp. 39, 56.
[7] Veniaminov, Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District (Russian edition), II, pp. 204–211.

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different stages of domestication of that animal. The domestic reindeer of the Chukchee and the Koryak are only slightly tamed, and may be regarded as in a primitive stage of domestication. Left to themselves, they readily return to the wild state. On the other hand, we know of no other instances of the domestication of wild reindeer. Thus, the traveller Maak relates an instance in which all attempts to tame captured wild fawns ended in failure.[1] The same is reported by Sieroszevsky,[2] although the offspring of domestic does and wild bucks become tame when reared in a domesticated herd. However, though they are much better runners and much stronger than the offspring of domesticated bucks, they develop an abnormal stubbornness.

It is difficult to solve the question whether reindeer-breeding originated in one place, from which it spread in various directions, or whether different tribes of the northern part of the Old World succeeded independently in the difficult task of domesticating the wild reindeer.

233 174 114

I. Lippert supports the hypothesis that the German Scandinavians were pioneers in domesticating the northern reindeer, and later imparted their knowledge to the Lapps, from whom the domestic reindeer spread farther east.[3] On the other hand, E. Hahn locates the origin of reindeer-breeding in northeastern Asia,[4] whence, in his opinion, it spread westward.

The latter hypothesis does not seem to me very plausible, because in northeastern Asia, among the Chukchee and the Koryak, reindeer-breeding is even now in a more primitive state than it is in the west. Besides, if northeastern Asia were the birthplace of the domestication of the reindeer, it would be difficult to explain why it spread to the west only, while the Eskimo and the Indians of the extreme north of America remained outside the sphere of influence of this civilizing factor. Both species of the American *Rangifer tarandus* — the barren-ground caribou and the woodland caribou — still remain in a wild state. The Government of the United States, desirous of introducing reindeer-breeding into Alaska, had to import domesticated reindeer from the Old World. If we are to assume that reindeer-breeding had its inception in but one place, Lippert's hypothesis would be the more probable.

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reindeer were introduced into Iceland, and of late years attempts have been made to introduce reindeer-breeding into Alaska. In Iceland the attempt failed completely. The imported reindeer soon returned to the wild state, and now they are hunted only (see Fr. Ekhard, Islands Natur und Volkskunde [Copenhagen, 1813], p. 90). The importation of reindeer into Alaska was begun by the United States Government in 1890. In 1903, when the importation had ceased, the herds in Alaska contained 6114 head. In 1905 they increased to 10,241 head. It is difficult to predict whether or not reindeer-breeding will ultimately prove successful (see G. B. Gordon, Notes on the Western Eskimo [Transactions Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906, Vol. II, Part I, p. 73]).

[1] Maak, The District of Vilniuk, III, Ethnographical part, p. 354.

[2] Sieroszevsky, p. 149.

[3] I. Lippert, Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit, 1886—87, I, p. 541. That the Lapps have learned to tame the reindeer from the Scandinavians is asserted by Professor Frijs in the paper mentioned before (Globus, XXII, 1872, p. 2).

[4] E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 263, 265.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

The best-trained race of reindeer is that owned by the Lapps, who make use of the watch-dog for guarding their herds. The Lapps, moreover, lay in stores of reindeer-moss,[1] so that the reindeer are better cared for by them than by other reindeer-breeders. All this points to the fact that reindeer-breeding in the extreme west of the Old World is of more ancient origin, since, in the domestication of animals, the more advanced the system, the longer is the period required to develop it.

Schrenck considers the Tungus as primarily a reindeer people, and he advances the hypothesis that they transmitted reindeer-breeding both to the East and to the West, to the Samoyeds and Lapps inclusive.[2] He thinks[3] that the Koryak and the Chukchee may have obtained domesticated reindeer from the Tungus, who came to the polar region from the south.

Bogoras admits the possibility of an influence of Tungus reindeer-breeding in inducing the Koryak and the Chukchee to breed domestic reindeer of their own; but he thinks that they may have tamed wild reindeer which they had found in their own territory, without actually obtaining domesticated animals from the Tungus. "This would seem the more plausible," says Bogoras, "since their reindeer is quite different from that of the Tungus."[4] In support of this hypothesis, the fact could be cited, that, while the Tungus are principally reindeer-riders, the Koryak and the Chukchee use their reindeer harnessed to sledges.

Whatever the origin of reindeer-breeding among the Koryak and the Chukchee may have been, there is no doubt that its development was stimulated by hunting-expeditions into the interior of the country on the part of the maritime inhabitants. In those years when they had no luck in fishing, hunting-expeditions in search of land-animals were more frequently undertaken, and lasted longer. This was necessary for the support of the population. At the same time, a protracted stay of individual hunters, and sometimes of entire hunting-parties, in the interior of the country, led to the taming of wild reindeer or to the acquisition of domesticated reindeer from neighboring tribes. The acquisition of domesticated reindeer or the taming of wild ones insured the people against starvation in case of failure in fishing, and against accidents in hunting land-animals. It also made it possible for certain parts of the tribe to remain entirely in the interior of the country; and it facilitated, moreover, migration from place to place.

The domesticated reindeer not only began to furnish food and clothing, but rendered possible the transportation of tents, household goods, and supplies. In the interior of the country the reindeer proved a more convenient

[1] Schrenck (II, p. 180) once met two reindeer-sledges of Saghalin-Orok loaded with lichens.
[2] Schrenck, II, p. 178.
[3] Ibid., II, p. 176.
[4] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 71.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

174 draught-animal than the dog. The reindeer found its own food, while the
233 dog required supplies of fish, which could not be had in the interior of the country, especially in the mountains. On the other hand, the reindeer compelled its tamers to begin a nomadic life in search of pastures; and in this manner the more or less settled inhabitants of the maritime and river regions became nomads. This process controverts somewhat the accepted scheme of the development of civilization, in which a settled state is usually considered to denote a higher stage of culture than a nomadic state; while here the nomadic state appears as a later step in the development of Koryak culture.

181 The taming of the reindeer is undoubtedly a civilizing factor of high order. Still, under given conditions of Koryak life, reindeer-breeding represents primarily *material* progress. The reindeer-breeder is more secure and wealthier than the maritime inhabitant, but, on the other hand, he is coarser. Constant worry connected with the care of his herd, the struggle with nature, and the moving from place to place, claim all the time of the reindeer-breeder, and stunt his mental development. On the contrary, the comparatively warm home of the settled Koryak, and his leisure in winter, stimulate habits of reflection, and develop his mind and his powers of observation. The different forms of primitive art, as we shall see later, are found developed principally among the sedentary Koryak.

233 It is strange that some travellers have thought that the sedentary Chuk-
● 114 chee and Koryak were the descendants of Reindeer nomads who had lost
174 their herds through epidemics or wars. Thus, Krasheninnikoff, Ermann, Dittmar, Kennan, and Slunin say of the sedentary Koryak, that they were formerly reindeer-breeders, but that in the wars with the Chukchee — or through epidemics, as Slunin says — they lost their reindeer;[1] while Sarytcheff, Wrangell, and Schrenck say of the Maritime Chukchee, that they were formerly reindeer-breeders, but, having lost their reindeer through epidemics, left the interior of the country for the coast to engage in hunting sea-animals.[2]

174 As a matter of fact, several groups of sedentary Koryak, such as the
233 Opuka Koryak, are claimed to have been reindeer-breeders; but, as a rule, reindeer-breeding appears as a higher economic type in the development of material culture than do fishing and hunting. There is no doubt that the remote ancestors of the Reindeer Koryak of to-day were a maritime people, and began to leave the shores for the interior of the country, only after the development of reindeer-breeding. The custom of carrying burdens and children on their backs by means of head-bands, which is still prevalent among the women (see Plate XXXV, Fig. 2, and Plate XXXVI) is a survival of the

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 204; Ermann, Reise um die Erde (Berlin, 1838), p. 423; Dittmar, Die Koräken, pp. 7, 36; Kennan, p. 159; Slunin, I, p. 354. The same is maintained by Professor D. Anuchin (Russian Encyclopaedia of Brockhaus and Efron, Vol. XXVII, p. 131).

[2] See Sarytcheff, Voyage, II, p. 105; Wrangell, II, p. 222; Schrenck, II, p. 25, Note 4.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

178 233 are found only among the genuine Reindeer nomads of the Taigonos Peninsula, the Palpal Ridge, and in the Parapol Dol. It is quite possible, as I said before, that the proportion of Reindeer Koryak has now increased, but that is because a considerable part of the settlements has disappeared as a result of wars and of a high rate of mortality.

114 233 174 To answer the question which of the two tribes, the Chukchee or the Koryak, engaged in reindeer-breeding first, is no less difficult to answer. If Schrenck's hypothesis, that these two tribes had obtained the domesticated reindeer from the Tungus, is correct, it would necessarily follow that the nearest neighbors of the Tungus, the Koryak, would be the first to acquire them. But that is just what cannot be maintained.

233 174 If we turn to the myths, we shall see that they throw little light on this question. The Chukchee myths represent the Koryak as a people engaged exclusively in reindeer-breeding, and the Koryak myths maintain the same thing of the Chukchee. This mutual characterization of the two peoples by their myths reflects the surroundings amidst which they came in conflict at a period when reindeer-breeding had already begun. During that period, wars were waged, principally between the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak. If, according to Russian annals, the Reindeer Chukchee not only waged war on the Maritime Koryak of Bering Sea, but also penetrated to the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, there is no indication, on the other hand, that the Reindeer Koryak ever attacked the Maritime Chukchee. The northeastern branch of the Maritime Koryak, the Kerek, may, of course, in times past, have had intercourse with the Maritime Chukchee near the mouth of the Anadyr River; but the Maritime Chukchee on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, and the Maritime Koryak of the Sea of Okhotsk, not only could not have met, but they had as vague an idea of each other as they have to day. The remote maritime people of the north are known among the Maritime Koryak under the name of "Aiwan;" but that is the name under which the Asiatic Eskimo are known on the Chukchee Peninsula.

The myths give no tangible data as to the origin of reindeer-breeding. The appearance of domesticated reindeer is represented in legends rather as an act of special creation. Sometimes they are lowered down from heaven by the Supreme Deity, and sometimes the heroes put life into the wooden figures of reindeer. Most frequently we find, in the myths, tales relating how Big-Raven, or his son Eme'mqut, would pull poles out from the ground, and how reindeer would come out of the holes. According to this account, domesticated reindeer, previous to their appearance on earth, had lived, by the will of the culture-heroes, in the underground world. On the whole, Koryak myths give no hint regarding the process of domestication of the wild reindeer.

The Koryak, like other reindeer-breeders of northern Siberia, have special

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of their territory, use the reindeer only in harness; but their narrow, canoe-like sledges easily glide along paths that are otherwise hardly passable. Besides, they harness only one reindeer to a sledge, after the manner of the freight-sledges of the tundra Yukaghir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak.

However, some Tungus tribes, when they come in contact with people using sledges, employ their reindeer in harness and for riding, and for carrying packs, or for use in sledges exclusively. Schrenck thought[1] that the Saghalin Orok are the only Tungus tribe which make use of reindeer both for riding and for hauling sledges. According to his opinion, they adopted the idea of using sledges from the dog-breeders, the Gilyak. That is, of course, possible; but, as I have said before, there are other Tungus tribes who use sledges. Thus, all over the extensive northern tundra — between the Kolyma and Lena Rivers, where the Tungus tribes come in contact or intermingle with the Yukaghir or the Yakut — they have in certain cases adopted the sledge-harness without giving up reindeer-riding. The same may be said also of the Tungus living in other parts of the province of Yakutsk. On their trips through the mountains, or on hunting-expeditions, they still use reindeer for riding and for carrying packs; but, for transporting merchandise and mail between post-stations, they hitch their reindeer to sledges. Such contracts, however, are taken up only by rich Tungus who own large herds. In some localities the Tungus have, in later times, begun to train their reindeer to draw sledges. Thus, on the trail between Ola (a bay of the Sea of Okhotsk) and the upper course of the Kolymà River, which was opened only ten years ago, the local Tungus have trained their reindeer, which were formerly used exclusively for carrying packs, to carry goods on sledges. The Dolgan, a Yakutized Tungus tribe in the Yenisei tundra, and the Khangai, a Yukaghirized Tungus tribe in the Kolyma tundra, are now using the reindeer in winter in sledge-harness, and in summer as riding and pack animals.

Races of Northern Reindeer. — In eastern Siberia two principal races are distinguished, both among the wild and the domesticated reindeer. The wild reindeer are divided into mountain and tundra reindeer. The former are characterized by their greater height and the gray or light-gray color of their fur. In summer they retire from the mosquitoes to the summits of the mountains, and in winter they come down to the river-valleys. The tundra reindeer are not so tall, and they have darker hair. They, too, flee from the mosquitoes in summer, but to the shores of the Arctic Ocean and to near-by islands; and in winter they return to the northern forest-line. These migrations are carried out in large herds, which are waylaid by hunters on the Anadyr River and on the lower course of the Kolyma River in the spring and fall when the reindeer cross those streams.

[1] Schrenck, II, p. 179.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

short leather thong. When all the required reindeer are secured in this manner, the watchers drive the herd to one side. 233

The tied-up reindeer remain behind until they are entirely separated from the free reindeer. Then they are driven back to the old pasture. I once witnessed the separation of a large herd, and saw what an amount of trouble this primitive method of surrounding the herd with people gives. Refractory reindeer break through the chain constantly, and lead away the rest of the herd. The fleeing reindeer then have to be rounded up, and returned to the enclosure. If the herd is not large, the enclosure is made of sledges arranged in a semicircle.

The Yakut reindeer-breeders have regular enclosures, made of poles, near their houses. The enclosure is in the shape of a rectangle, the sides of which form high fences, so that the reindeer cannot jump over them. The rectangle is approached at one corner by a long passage, continuing one of the short sides of the rectangle, through which the reindeer are driven. Inside the enclosure, the herdsmen very seldom make use of the lasso, but capture their reindeer with their hands. Such enclosures are to be found at all the polar post-stations of the Yakut territory. Whenever reindeer are required to carry mail or passengers, the entire herd is brought from the pastures inside the enclosure, and, after the necessary reindeer have been selected, the herd is set free. 233 171

The size of reindeer-herds among the Koryak is, in my opinion, greatly exaggerated by some writers. For example, Slunin says that the Koryak herds number from ten to eighteen thousand head.[1] I had an opportunity of seeing some of the herds mentioned by Slunin, and our figures are greatly at variance. For instance, the Koryak Kulo, according to my information, had a herd of not more than three thousand reindeer; while, according to Slunin, it numbered fifteen thousand. 233 114

On my way from the Gishiga to the Kolyma River I spent two days in the camp of a wealthy Tungus by the name of Abraham, whose herd was estimated by Slunin at eighteen thousand head.[2] I myself saw that herd. It was not very large, and I was told that there were eight hundred reindeer in it. It is quite possible that not all of Abraham's reindeer were there, but that part of the herd was elsewhere. Even if we were to multiply by five the number that was given to us, we should get only four thousand, and even that number is too large for the herd of a Tungus breeder in the Gishiga district. In the district of Verkhoyansk I knew a Tungus who had 233

[1] See Slunin, I, p. 634. Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 208) also gives improbable figures concerning the numbers of Koryak reindeer. He says that rich Koryak have from ten to thirty thousand reindeer, and more. The elder Etel Sopliskoff had nearly a hundred thousand head. Kennan (p. 195) gives similar incredible figures. He asserts that the Reindeer Koryak of northern Kamchatka have herds of from eight thousand to twelve thousand head, and one of them had thirty thousand reindeer.

[2] Slunin, I, p. 634.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

keep up with the Yakut reindeer, and soon began to pant and fall, in spite of severe beating. We abandoned them one after another, leaving on the trail a few sledges with provisions, and finally reached the station on foot. The Chukchee reindeer were the usual little-trained draught-animals, which made from seven to ten miles a day in nomad trains, walking at an easy gait the entire distance.

COMPARATIVE REMARKS. — In conclusion I wish to sum up the chief peculiarities of the three types of use of the reindeer.

The domestication of the reindeer of the Koryak-Chukchee is very primitive. The economic conditions are still in the simple stage in which the herd serves merely to satify the wants of the family. Its principal object is to serve as a source of supply for food and clothing, the reindeer being kept mainly for slaughter. Transportation is but a secondary purpose of the reindeer.

The Tungus reindeer represent a more advanced type. Their chief use is as a means of transportation over the hunting territory, both as riding and pack animals. The household of the wealthy Tungus herd-owner approaches either the Koryak or the Yakut type, according to its location.

The Yakut reindeer are an improved Tungus race. Their principal use is commercial. They are the chief source of money earnings. The owners of one or two dozen reindeer seldom use them for their own household, but hire out themselves with their teams for the transportation of merchandise; or they rent their reindeer to Yakut contractors for a money consideration.

THE DOMESTICATION OF THE WILD REINDEER. — To what has been said on p. 471 concerning the possibility of taming wild reindeer I wish to add the following remarks.

It has been said that the Amur Tungus domesticate wild reindeer. I consider these reports, which are confirmed by my friend Mr. Sternberg in his review of Bogoras's work on the material culture of the Chukchee,[1] worthy of little credence. If the Amur Tungus could increase their herds by taming wild reindeer, they would surpass in skill the tamers of our zoölogical gardens, who succeed only to a certain degree in taming wild animals. In a personal talk with me on this subject, Dr. Sternberg told me that in the original draught of his manuscript he had written "enticing" instead of "taming," which might refer to the skill of the Tungus in enticing wild reindeer with the help of specially trained domesticated animals. This I know is done also by the Tungus of the Province of Yakutsk, and of the Gishiginsk and Okhotsk districts of the Maritime Province; but in those places it applies only to hunting wild reindeer, and not to capturing them for purposes of taming.

In the districts named, three ways of hunting wild reindeer with the

[1] American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. VII, 1905, p. 332.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

help of domesticated animals are known. The first is by means of specially trained reindeer, called "hunting reindeer," or man·ščí'k (манящикъ, from manit' [манить], "to entice"), by the Russians, and ondada' by the Tungus. In my travels over northeastern Siberia I had occasion to meet Tungus hunters riding reindeer, who led another reindeer (ondada') by a long line. Above everything else, the ondada' is a good guide: it leads its master through woods and other impenetrable places by the surest paths; directed by its scent and hearing, it brings him to the pasture of wild reindeer. Then the hunter pays out the line, and lets the man·ščí'k go ahead, while he himself hides behind a bush or hill. The man·ščí'k begins to dig in the snow to get some lichen. When the wild reindeer, noticing the man·ščí'k, and impelled by love of gregariousness, approaches, the hunter begins gently to draw in the "enticer," until the wild reindeer, following step by step, gradually comes within easy range of the hunter. The second method is employed by the Tungus in the autumn during the rutting-season of wild reindeer. The hunter starts out on his expedition with his best two stags, the strongest in the herd. Having found the tracks of a herd of wild reindeer, the hunter lets one stag loose, after having tied a thong in several loops around its antlers. Feeling itself free, the rutting stag, taking the scent of the tracks of the wild dams, runs to overtake them. The wild stag does not allow his adversary to approach the females, but engages in single fight with him, and becomes entangled in the thong. The hunter, mounted on the other stag, finds the combatants with their antlers entangled, and slays the wild reindeer. Sometimes he succeeds also in killing a female, which, according to the hunters, watches from afar the struggles of the males, and takes flight only on the approach of man. The third method consists in enticing wild stags in the autumn by means of domesticated dams. This method is resorted to in wooded localities that are free from wolves. Having found a pasture of wild reindeer, the hunter leaves there, alone and unguarded, some dams from his herd, which are then in their rutting-period. The dams attract the wild stags. A day or two later the hunter stealthily approaches his dams, and endeavors to shoot the wild reindeer that have imprudently gone too near them. The Koryak, too, take advantage of the wild stags visiting the tame dams in their herds, and slay them, while the Chukchee consider it an ill omen if in such cases the wild stag escapes from the herd. It will thus be seen that the principle in all three methods is to kill the wild reindeer; and in the last method it is also desired to obtain a stronger and larger breed from the domesticated dams.

Mr. W. D. Nemirovich-Danchenko, in two articles on "The Mezen Tundra", and "The Country of the Lapps",[1] informs us that the Samoyed are not able to tame the wild reindeer of the Mezen Tundra, but that the Lapps

[1] Picturesque Russia (Russian), St. Petersburg 1881; Vol. I, pp. 95, 178.

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succeed easily with those of their country, by catching them with the lasso and keeping them tied up for three days before feeding them. After that treatment, he says, the reindeer are as tame as those of the domesticated herd. Presumably this report is based on a misunderstanding and refers to the first training of unbroken reindeer that are taken out of the herd.

I discuss the possibility or impossibility of taming wild reindeer thus fully, because the answer to this question is of the utmost importance not only from the point of view of the economic interests of the reindeer-breeders, but for the history of domestic animals in general. It is true that the domesticated reindeer differs little from the wild reindeer. So far, zoölogists have found no anatomic differences which would justify us in considering the domesticated reindeer as a distinct variety. From this it may perhaps be inferred that reindeer-breeding is of comparatively recent origin; but the fact must also be taken into consideration that the reindeer-breeders know hardly anything of artificial selection, and that domestication was not accompanied by changes in the feeding of the animals. However this may be, the more pacific nature, the familiarity with man (so to speak) and the readiness to obey him, which we find even in the primitive race of the Chukchee-Koryak reindeer, do not develop at once. These qualities are gradually acquired, and are transmitted by inheritance through a whole series of generations. This applies all the more to the race of Tungus reindeer. The comparative weakness of the reindeer is an advantage to man in the taming of this animal, which could not be accomplished by superior physical strength alone. I have already cited an instance of how the draught-reindeer of a primitive Chukchee herd, when first put into harness with Yakut reindeer, might be beaten to death, but could not be made to draw the sledge as fast as the Yakut reindeer do.[1] Should a wild stag, notwithstanding its innate fear of man, join the herd, attracted by the dams, there would be danger of the herd-owner, however vigilantly he might keep watch, losing a large part of his herd, which the wild stag would probably lead away into the wilderness. The invariable custom of the Chukchee of killing the wild reindeer attracted to the herd by sexual instinct appears to me to have been called into existence in a great measure by this very apprehension, and hence this custom is invested with a religious significance. When I consider reindeer-breeding as of recent origin, I still do not mean to assign to it a beginning very near to our times. The Chukchee-Koryak cult related to the domesticated reindeer, with its numerous rites and festivals, required much time for its evolution and establishment. As it is a matter of great importance, from the point of view both of science and of domestic economy, for reindeer-breeders really to be able to increase their herds by the taming of wild reindeer, let us hope that

[1] See p. 497.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

aspen-bark. Though the Koryak are not such passionate tobacco-consumers as the Yakut, Tungus, Yukaghir, and other Siberian natives, hardly a man is to be found who does not use tobacco in one form or another. Many of the women, however, hardly use tobacco at all; while among the tribes mentioned above, not only every woman and adult girl, but even girls in their early teens, have their own pipes and tobacco-pouches; and the lack of tobacco is considered to be worse than hunger.

The Koryak are most passionate consumers of the poisonous crimson fly-agaric, even more so than the related Kamchadal and Chukchee, probably because the fungus is most common in their territory. Some travellers, as Krasheninnikoff and Dittmar, were of the opinion that the fly-agaric was bought by the Koryak from Kamchatka. Thus, Dittmar says that there is no fly-agaric on the Taigonos Peninsula,[1] and that it is brought there from Kamchatka; while Krashennikoff[2] asserts that in general the Koryak have no fly-agaric, and that they get it from the Kamchadal. My own observations, however, have convinced me that not only is fly-agaric abundant all-over the Koryak territory, but that the Koryak supply the Chukchee with it. In the middle of the month of August I saw in the valley of the Varkhalam River, not far from its mouth, an extensive field dotted with the characteristic crimson caps of the fly-agaric, with their white spots. In the villages of the Maritime Koryak, along the whole western coast of Penshina Bay, I knew individuals who were engaged in gathering and drying fly-agaric, and who carried on a very profitable trade in it. One Koryak from Alutórsk, who dealt in fly-agaric, is mentioned by Slunin.[3]

The Koryak do not eat the fly-agaric fresh. The poison is then more effective, and kills more speedily. The Koryak say that three fresh fungi suffice to kill a person. Accordingly, fly-agaric is dried in the sun or over the hearth after it has been gathered. It is eaten by men only; at least, I never saw a woman drugged by it.[4] The method of using it varies. As far as I could see, in the villages of Penshina Bay, the men, before eating it, first let the women chew it, and then swallow it. Bogoras[5] says that the Chukchee tear the fungus into pieces, chew it, and then drink water. Slunin describes in the same way[6] the Koryak method of using fly-agaric. In describing the use of fly-agaric by the Chukchee and Koryak, Dittmar[7] says that they chew it, and keep the quid in their mouths for a long time without swallowing it. Krasheninnikoff[8] says that the Kamchadal roll the dried fungus up in the form of a tube, and swallow it unchewed, or soak it in a decoction of willow-herb and drink the tincture.

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[1] Dittmar, p. 451. [2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 150. [3] Slunin, I, p. 654.

[4] Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 150) says that the Kamchadal women do not eat fly-agaric, but Dittmar (p. 106) cites the case of a Koryak woman (a shaman) who was intoxicated by it.

[5] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 205.

[6] Slunin, I, p. 655. [7] Dittmar, p. 506. [8] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 147.

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285 are gathered in autumn. This plant grows on sloping sandy river-banks, and often reaches the height of a man. The women cut it down with knives, and carry it in sheaves to the villages. The grass is twisted into braids (Fig. 153, *a*), and bunches of these are hung on sticks in the storehouse.

The outer bark of the edible willow-herb[1] (*Epilobium angustifolium*) is used for technical purposes. The pith is taken out and used as food. Thread is twisted from the bark in the same way as from nettle. The winter supplies of willow-herb are gathered also in the fall, and are preserved in bunches (Fig. 153, *b*).

Fig. 153. Material for Basket-Work. *a* ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{2}}$), Braid of Wild Rye (length, 72 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{21\frac{1}{2}}$), Bundle of Willow-Herb (length, 84 cm.).

[114] The Koryak must have used nettle for weaving before meeting with the Russians. From certain passages in Dittmar's[2] book on Kamchatka, the conclusion might be drawn that the Russians had taught the Kamchadal how to treat nettle for textile purposes; but Krasheninnikoff and Steller, who wrote of Kamchatka nearly a century before Dittmar, speak of the use of nettle for nets and baskets as a long-known industry of the Kamchadal[3]

314] The Koryak women gather nettles also in autumn, aft... the end of the fishing-season, tie it into bunches, and hang it under the storehouses to dry. In winter they work their yarn. With their teeth they pull off the soft fibres from the hard woody nettle-stems, pound them with a stick until the fibres come apart, and then twist these in the same way as they do sinew-thread.

I have already spoken of the use of sinew-thread in sewing. For basket and bag weaving or netting, strands are made of from four to six fibres, which are twisted 000 together. The spinning of the thread for weaving from these plant and sinew

[1] See p. 578.

[2] Dittmar, Travel in Kamtschatka, pp. 160, 164, 363. It is quite possible that what Dittmar says does not refer to the preparation of nettle by the Kamchadal in general, but to the endeavors of Zavoyko, Governor of Kamchatka, to accustom them to an improved method of treatment by means of spinning-wheel and weaver's loom. But from the passages referred to in Dittmar it is not quite clear that he wanted to speak only of improvements in the Kamchadal method of manufacture. I do not know whether the better method introduced by the Russians has been preserved among the Kamchadal, but the Koryak employ even now the most primitive method of preparation of nettle.

[3] See Steller, pp. 83, 317; Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 332.

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of ancient underground houses, and who said that potsherds of coarse clay vessels are often found among other objects in excavating ancient underground dwellings on the eastern coast of Kamchatka.[1]

Lastly, the Gishiga Cossacks, who often visit Kamchatka on duty, told me personally that they came across the same kind of sherds of clay pots as I found in the ruins of ancient Koryak houses.

At present neither the Gilyak and Ainu, nor the Kamchadal and Koryak, make clay pots. Schrenck expresses the opinion that even in antiquity this art was unknown to the Gilyak and Ainu.[2] Concerning the statement of the Japanese traveller, Mamia Rinso, that the Gilyak on Saghalin manufactured clay ware resembling that of the Chinese and Japanese, Schrenck supposes that this art was introduced by the Chinese and Japanese at a quite recent date, and has been lost again. On the other hand, Schrenck finds that the potsherds collected by Pfeiffer, Lopatin, and Polyakoff in various parts of the Amur region and in Saghalin, samples of which were in his hands, were so old as to have no ethnological connection whatever with the tribes inhabiting the region at the present time.[3]

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Leo Sternberg, the latest student of the Gilyak tribe, in his brief preliminary sketch of the Gilyak, published in the "Ethnographical Review,"[4] expresses an opinion concerning the ancient Gilyak pottery identical with that of Schrenck. In his opinion, the Gilyak were not familiar with pottery. Further on, I shall briefly touch upon his arguments. The Gilyak themselves call the remains of the ancient underground dwellings on Saghalin Island, where the potsherds were found, kugi-tulkč, which means "Ainu little pits;" i. e., the Gilyak attribute them to the Ainu. Following the course of his arguments, Sternberg further supposes that these little pits did not belong to the ancestors of the present Ainu either, for the Saghalin Ainu themselves attribute them to another people by the name of Tonchi.[5]

Here I reach a question interesting in the highest degree, — the question, Who were the ancient inhabitants of Japan and of the underground dwellings in Yezo and other places, — the Ainu, or another pre-Ainu people? This question divides Japanese and other investigators into two camps. Of the Japanese scholars, Professor Koganei especially, espouses the former view; Professor Tsuboi, the latter. Concerning Saghalin, my friend Dr. Sternberg apparently seems to side with Tsuboi; while Dr. Laufer, a member of our

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[1] See Dittmar, p. 189.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 139. Schrenck, by the way, expresses the opinion that pottery was unknown to any of the so-called palæ-Asiatic peoples, with the exception of the Eskimo. He supposes that the Eskimo came to America from Asia, and classes them among the palæ-Asiatics; but this opinion, as we see, is utterly refuted by the facts.

[3] See Schrenck, II, p. 141.

[4] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Review, published by the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography, Moscow, 1904, Parts 1, 2, 3).

[5] Ethnographical Review, 1904, I, p. 5.

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114 174 323 expedition, expresses views in harmony with Professor Koganei's.[1] Of the recent works devoted to this question, one of especial interest is Professor Koganei's excellent article, "Ueber die Urbewohner Japans."[2]

323 171 174 I can touch upon this question only so far as it bears upon pottery. On the one hand, remnants of primitive pottery have been discovered on the Chukchee Peninsula, in Baron Korff's Bay,[3] in Kamchatka, on the coasts of the Okhotsk Sea and its bays, on the Kurilian Islands, at the mouth of the Amur, on the islands Saghalin and Yezo; on the other hand, the Eskimo of northwestern America even now make clay pots, and have left traces of this art which existed among them in the past.[4]

Whether pottery was known to the Aleut, we do not know as yet. Veniaminoff says that the clay vessels he saw among the Aleut had been obtained by them from the Russians.[5] In the description of the articles found by Dall[6] in the grave caves of the Aleut, we find no remains of clay vessels; but until archæological investigations have been undertaken in the Aleutian Islands, it cannot be asserted that pottery was unknown to the Aleut. Judging by the results of our expedition, the Indians of the North Pacific coast never had pottery.[7]

Territorially speaking, we have thus found, so far, that pottery in its primitive stage was widespread on the northern coasts of the Pacific Ocean from the islands of Japan around almost to the coast strip of southern Alaska.

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[1] See berthold Laufer, Die Angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin (Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Jena, 1900, Band V, Heft 6).

[2] Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokio, 1903, IX, pp. 297–330.

[3] Bogoras (The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 186) says that certain potsherds found by him in the ancient "jaw-bone houses" are thinner than the above-mentioned clay lamps and kettles, and point to another type of clay pots in the past.

[4] Thus we have Baron Wrangell's statements of the beginnings of the nineteenth century, that the Eskimo in Alaska made pots (Wrangell, Statist. und ethnog. Nachrichten über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestküste von Amerika, St. Petersburg, 1839, p. 147); Dall's information concerning the seventies of the last century (Dall, Alaska and its Resources, London, 1870, p. 218) and the present-day information of Nelson (Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, pp. 201, 202). Concerning the inhabitants of the island Kadyak, we possess the following information, dating from the beginning of the last century: "From clay they make fire-pots, in which they melt whale fat. Formerly they could also bake pots, but now this art is lost, possibly for the reason that they found our kettles more convenient" (see Voyages to America of the Naval Officers, Khvostoff and Davydoff, St. Petersburg, 1812, Vol. II, p. 104). Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 305) states that the Koryag of Kadyak cooked meat in clay pots. At the end of the last century Murdoch found on Point Barrow fragments of pottery which, according to him, existed earlier than iron kettles (Murdoch, pp. 91, 92). G. B. Gordon, in his Notes on the Western Eskimo (Transactions of the Department of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906, Vol. II, Part I, p. 83), based on data collected by the expedition sent to Alaska in the summer of 1905 by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, states that at present the art of pottery has died out among the western Eskimo, but the older people still remember the time when lamps and cooking-vessels were made of clay. Plates XXIII and XXIV of the same paper show different types of clay vessels of the western Eskimo.

[5] Veniaminoff, Notes on the Unalashka District, Part II, p. 239.

[6] Dall, On the Remains of Prehistoric Man obtained from Caves in the Catherine Archipelago, Alaska Territory and especially from the Caves of the Aleutian Islands (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1878, Vol. XXII).

[7] This conclusion is based on the results of the excavations made by Mr. Smith at the mouth of the Fraser River, in the southern part of Vancouver Island, and on the coast of Washington; but it would be very important to extend the archæologic investigations also to other parts of the coast-line between the Alaskan Eskimo and Columbia River and the interior Athapascans, in order to draw a final conclusion.

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As to the question what tribes have left remains of this art, there is still disagreement in the majority of cases. That the clay pots, of which potsherds have been found by me in Koryak territory, were made by the recent ancestors of the Koryak, there can be no doubt. The same may be said in regard to the Alaskan Eskimo, but here is involved the question of their original gradual distribution. So far as mythology is concerned, I have accepted Professor Boas's theory that the Eskimo came to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean from the east.[1] In questions of somatology we have some data pointing to the change of the physical type of the Eskimo from the east westward, as we approach nearer and nearer to the Pacific Ocean.[2]

The central and eastern Eskimo had lamps of soapstone, but we find no indication that they now can or formerly could make clay pots. If we consider as correct the theory that the Alaskan Eskimo came from the east, and that their physical nature and their traditions have changed in the new locality under the influence of the Indians, then they may have adopted the art of making pottery, too, after their arrival on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, from the former aborigines, as their eastern fellow-tribesmen evidently did not know this art.[3] I should remark that I bring forward these considerations only as an attempt at solving the question concerning the primitive culture of the Asiatic-American tribes.

Regarding the Ainu, it is impossible, it seems to me, not to agree with the considerations of Koganei, that the pits on Yezo, Saghalin, and the Kurilian Islands, which contain the potsherds now holding our interest, are remnants of the dwellings of the ancestors of the modern Ainu. For the Gilyak, we must for the present accept the opinion of Sternberg, — the best authority on this tribe, — who argues that the Gilyak are new-comers on Saghalin Island and at the mouth of the Amur, and suggests that they may have been neighbors of the Aleut.[4] Still one cannot help remarking that Sternberg's chief arguments offered as proof that the clay potsherds from the "little pits" on Saghalin belong to neither the ancestors of the Gilyak nor to the ancient Ainu,[5] are identical with the arguments of Tsuboi concerning the last-mentioned tribe alone.[6] These arguments consist in the following. In the myths there are no allusions whatever to the former use of pottery by the Gilyak or Ainu; on the contrary, the traditions of both tribes attribute this art to other tribes, the Gilyak attributing it to the Ainu. The Ainu of

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[1] See Part I, p. 339.

[2] See Dina Jochelson-Brodsky, Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers nordostsibirischer Völker (Doctor's Dissertation of the University of Zürich), Braunschweig, 1906.

[3] Unfortunately, no archeological researches have been made in the territory of the northern Athapascans and Tlingit.

[4] If this supposition should prove correct, the finding of remains of pottery on the Aleutian territory would be of importance.

[5] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Review, I, p. 5).

[6] See Koganei, Ueber die Urbewohner Japans, pp. 302, 303.

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Yezo, on their part, attribute this art to the mythical tribe Koropokguru, while the Ainu of Saghalin claim that the mythical tribe Tonchi made the pots which have been found in the ruins of underground dwellings.[1] He also thinks that if the Gilyak and Ainu had known this art before, it would not have been lost.

I shall not expatiate upon the linguistic interpretation of the words "Tonchi" and "Koropokguru," which may be found in the works referred to.[2] I wish only to remark that oral tradition cannot take the place of history if it does not agree with the data of archæology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and comparative culture. In the last-named respects much remains to be done, but what has already been done with reference to the Ainu completely proves that the Koropokguru are the ancestors of the present Ainu. It is enough to read the description of the contemporary underground dwellings of the Ainu on Shikotan to come to the conclusion that after their destruction they would form the same kind of pits as we still find on Yezo.[3] It is quite possible that the names handed down by tradition of what purports to be vanished tribes are but the ancient names of territorial groups or clans of one or another of the now existing tribes, just as I have been able to prove concerning the so-called vanished tribes of the Khodintsi, Omoki, Kongienisi, etc., of the Kolyma region,[4] that they are not vanished tribes, but ancient local names of the divisions of the Yukaghir tribe.

The present-day absence of pottery among the Ainu and Gilyak cannot be proof that they never had it formerly, either. We possess many proofs, and among others my own data collected among the Koryak, that pottery may disappear with the advent of metal utensils.[5] Likewise nothing is proved by the absence of any mention of pottery in the myths. The memory of peoples that possess no knowledge of writing is, on the whole, very short with reference to facts relating to their past life. To give an instance, I was surprised when the Arctic Yakut who came to the extreme north very recently did not know, when questioned by me on this point, that their ancestors had

[1] It should be remarked that so far no traditions ascribing them to mythical tribes have sprung up with reference to the potsherds found in 1865 in the excavations of underground dwellings at the mouth of the Amur (see Schrenck, II p. 141), and to the remnants of such dwellings between Khabarovsk and the mouth of the Amur (see Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin, in Centralblatt für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgeschichte, 5. Jahrgang, Heft 6, p. 329).

[2] See Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin, etc., p. 325; Koganei, Ueber die Urbewohner Japans, pp. 314, 315.

[3] See Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Koropokguru auf Yezo u. Bemerkungen über die Shikotan-Ainos (1892); Hitchcock, The Ancient Pit-Dwellers of Yezo, Japan (Washington, 1892).

[4] See Jochelson, On the Question of the Vanished Tribes of the Kolyma District (Bulletin of the East Siberian Section of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, Irkutsk, 1897), Vol. XXVIII, Part I).

[5] On the disappearance of pottery among the eastern Indians of North America, upon the arrival of the whites, see Charles Rau, The Archæological Collection of the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Washington, 1876, Vol. XXII, p. 73). Concerning the inhabitants of the island Kadyak and the western Eskimo, see p. 642, Footnote 4. There are indications that in southern Siberia, primitive pottery was forgotten and lost by the local inhabitants about the time of the arrival of the Russians (see D. Klements, The Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum, Tomsk, 1886, p. 65).

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manufactured clay pots, and not even that their more southerly fellow-tribesmen are still making pottery. That the present pottery of the Yakut, still made with the hands, without the potter's wheel and without knowledge of the art of glazing, is of ancient origin, has been completely proved by Sierosevski in his work on the Yakut.[1]

After this chapter had been written, I had the pleasure of meeting in Berlin Dr. E. Baelz, formerly professor at the University of Tokio. He had the kindness to place at my disposal the manuscript of his most interesting paper, "Zur Vor- und Urgeschichte Japans,"[2] in which he discusses the Ainu question. Professor Baelz is in full accord with Professor Koganei, and thinks that the remains of underground dwellings and the primitive pottery of the stone age in Japan belong to the ancestors of the present Ainu. He states, that according to Batchelor, the best authority on the Ainu language, the word "Koropokguru" means simply "inhabitants of underground dwellings." The Ainu themselves have traditions relating to the former use of pottery; and among the Kurilian Ainu clay pots like those of the stone age are in use even now. Clay figures representing men, which were found by Professor Baelz together with potsherds and other remains of the stone age, are represented with full beards like those of the Ainu. Professor Baelz's theory on the origin of the Ainu offers, however, great difficulties. He maintains their relationship to the Caucasian race. If this theory is accepted, we must assume that the Ainu, after reaching their present seat, adopted the material culture of the palæ-Asiatic tribes and of the American tribes of the northern shore of the Pacific Ocean.

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[1] See Sierosevski, The Yakut, p. 377.

[2] Published in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1907, pp. 281–310.

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XI. — ART.[1]

531 The art of the Koryak — expressed in carving, engraving on bone and wood, drawing, and ornamentation of implements — is similar in many respects to the primitive art of ancient man of that epoch of the stone age of southern Europe which is called by the French archæologists "époque magdalénienne."[2] The climatic conditions and the surroundings of the life of man at that period were, according to geological, palæontological, and archæological data, much like those of the life of the primitive peoples of to-day in the polar and near-by regions of the Old and New Worlds.

[114] The resemblance between the graphic art of the Eskimo and that found in the archæologic remains of the cave-dwellers of southern Europe has led some European archæologists to formulate the theory of the origin of the Eskimo from the cave-dwellers of France,[3] — a theory which is far from being well founded. However, the art of the modern Koryak, as regards sculptural carving and dress-ornamentation, is above the art, not only of the cave-dwellers of Europe, but also of the modern Eskimo.

321 322 SCULPTURE. — For carving, the Koryak employ different kinds of wood, the antler of reindeer and the horn of mountain-sheep, bone of whale, teeth of the white whale and the bear, walrus-tusks, and mammoth-ivory. Sometimes the horn of the narwhal, brought from the shores of the Arctic Ocean, is also used. The material most suitable, on account of its solidity and fineness of grain, is ivory of the walrus and mammoth, especially the latter, which is as hard as the former.[4]

321 Both the walrus and the mammoth tusk, before being carved, are put for some time into boiling water, which makes them softer for a while. Walrus-tusk is used to a greater extent than is the mammoth-tusk, because this latter is not found so frequently in the Koryak territory as in the more

[1] The manuscript for this chapter was prepared by Mr. Jochelson while in Europe, and consequently he has not been able to consult the specimens in his collection. For this reason some matters of detail have been added by the editor, and also the greater part of the discussion relating to the technique and rhythmic arrangement of the designs on clothing, basketry, and rugs. — ED.

[2] See G. et A. de-Mortillet, Le Préhistorique (Paris, 1900), p. 241.

[3] See Hoffman, p. 764.

[4] Mammoth-tusks, which are obtained as the result of occasional palæontological finds, furnish good material for carving if extracted directly from the frozen ground. Tusks so obtained usually have no cracks, are solid inside, clean and white, and not much inferior in quality to ivory. If, however, previous to being found, the tusk has been washed out of the ground and exposed to the air for any length of time, undergoing the process of weathering, it loses its consistency, begins to crack, and assumes a yellow color resembling that of tobacco-juice. Concentric layers are formed on the outside, which gradually separate from the rest of the mass, and crumble, making it unfit for carving-purposes. Articles made of walrus-tusk also lose their original whiteness when exposed to moisture for a long time. Old carvings from walrus-tusk, both of the Koryak and of the Eskimo, also acquire the yellow tobacco-color.

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ered of her child. She kills and buries it in the ground or in the snow. If the girl points out the father of her child, her father or brothers endeavor to pommel him. In olden times cohabitation out of wedlock with a girl sometimes led to wars between the families to which the young people belonged. After reaching maturity, the girl sleeps in her combination-suit, the make[1] of which prevents unexpected violence. When strangers sleep in the house over night, girls do not undress at all, and sleep together in one bed. As we shall see later on, the bride also resists the bridegroom at the beginning of their married life, symbolizing her innocence and inaccessibility.

The girl is as inaccessible to the bridegroom while he serves for her as to a stranger. Intercourse of a bride with her bridegroom before the termination of his service is deemed a sin. Oftentimes, during the period of a young man's service, the girl goes away from her parental home to live with her relatives. In one myth it is told[2] that the sister of Cloud-Man was let down to earth pending her bridegroom's service.

Different rules for a girl's conduct are found among the tribes nearest to the Koryak. Maidenly chastity is valued very little among the Chukchee, says Bogoras.[3] Krasheninnikoff says of the ancient Kamchadal, "Though fond of women, this tribe is not so jealous as the Koryak. In marriages the signs of virginity are not considered, and some claim that the young men find fault with their mothers-in-law when they discover their wives to be virgin, but this I cannot assert to be authentic."[4] In my work on the Yukaghir I shall speak more fully of their custom of placing guests on the beds of the girls.

Dittmar states that a Koryak girl who had intercourse with a man was severely punished, and that her own father shot her;[5] but Krasheninnikoff asserts, in a passage which I shall touch upon again farther on, that the Maritime Koryak offered their wives and daughters to their guests.[6] In another passage[7] he says that among the Reindeer Koryak the bridegroom sleeps with his bride during the period of service. I think that these data were recorded by Krasheninnikoff on the authority of the Cossacks, who might have confused the Chukchee customs with those of the Koryak, or simply invented this statement. This seems the more probable, since not even the Chukchee offer their daughters to their guests.

In the myths of the Koryak we do not find a single allusion to such an order of things. On the contrary, we find episodes of an opposite character. The girls are generally kept in a secret place,[8] or they are hidden during

[1] See p. 589.
[2] See Part I, p. 131.
[3] See Bogoras, Brief Report on the Investigations among the Chukchee of the Kolyma District, p. 36.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.
[5] See Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 32.
[6] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.
[7] Ibid., II, p. 22.
[8] See Part I, pp. 125, 176, 291, 302.

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Relatives by Affinity. — A man cannot marry the following relatives by affinity; (1) stepmother; (2) sister of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two sisters); (3) cousin of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two cousins); (4) younger brother's widow; (5) deceased wife's elder sister; (6) nephew's widow; (7) sister of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two sisters); (8) cousin of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two cousins); (9) simultaneously an aunt and her niece; (10) two brothers cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (11) two male cousins cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (12) an uncle and nephew cannot marry two sisters, two cousins, or two women of whom one is an aunt and the other her niece; (13) a step-daughter.

The aversion to cohabitation between relatives in the first two degrees of blood-relationship — such as the cohabitation with a mother, daughter, or sister, which, with very rare exceptions, we find among the most primitive tribes — hardly requires explanation. As regards the prohibition of marriages among the other above-mentioned relatives, the Koryak replied to my questions on this point, that relatives of the categories mentioned would die soon if they should enter into cohabitation with one another. Unfortunately this answer gives no clew to the above-mentioned taboos. However, certain marital taboos between relatives by affinity are, as we shall see later, closely connected with the peculiarities of the Koryak levirate.

Krasheninnikoff states that among the Kamchadal "the forbidden kinds of marriage are with one's own mother and daughter only; while marriages between step-son and step-mother, step-father and step-daughter, and between cousins, are permissible."[1]

Steller says[2] that if a Kamchadal married a widow who had a daughter, he lived with both as his wives. According to him, the Kamchadal allowed a man to marry his step-mother, or to have two sisters for wives simultaneously. It seems to me hardly credible that the Kamchadal should differ so sharply in their marriage-taboos from the modern Koryak. It is regrettable that what has been said by Steller and Krasheninnikoff cannot now be verified, since the modern Kamchadal, having become Christians and been completely Russianized, observe the rules of the Orthodox Catholic Church in the matter of marriages, as far as their formal side is concerned. However, Krasheninnikoff asserts even, with reference to the Reindeer Koryak, that they used to marry cousins, aunts, and step-mothers.[3] It is hard to admit that in the brief period (about a hundred and fifty years) which has elapsed since Krasheninnikoff's time, the marriage-laws of the Koryak should have changed to such an extent.

It must nevertheless be added, that, if we are to judge from the myths,

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169. [2] See Steller, p. 347. [3] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

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with all of them, and shares his bed, now with one, and then with another. The sense of shame forbids a woman to be present at the acts of the intimate life of her sister. What, then, is the origin of this, which I should call "two-sided Koryak levirate"?

McLennan[1] and his followers consider the custom of levirate among other tribes as a survival of polyandry. Westermarck[2] demolishes this view with great conclusiveness. But if we admit that McLennan is right, whatever he says applies to the one-sided levirate usually spoken of by the ethnologists and sociologists; i. e., when the younger brother marries the elder brother's widow. But, of course, nobody considers the marriage of a widower with the younger sister of his deceased wife a survival of polyandry.

Lubbock's and Spencer's explanation of levirate is, that woman is viewed as a property which the brother-in-law inherits along with other possessions. Possibly the explanation may apply to the levirate custom of some tribes; but in cases where the widower takes the younger sister of his deceased wife, there can be no question of proprietary title to her; also in the passing of the widow to her deceased husband's younger brother, the family right does not always coincide with the right of property, as it appears from the Koryak order of inheritance. Besides, according to the customs of the Koryak, the elder brother, although he receives part of the inheritance left by his younger brother, cannot marry his widow.

The view that levirate is connected with the cult of ancestors — such as prevailed among the ancient Hindoos and Hebrews, through the necessity of having an heir in the interests of salvation and bliss in heaven — does not apply to the Koryak levirate either, not only because it is two-sided, but also because among the Koryak any widow of the elder brother, and not alone one without any offspring, or without male offspring, passes over to the younger brother.

Nevertheless I do think that Koryak levirate, though from another point of view, is connected with the cult of ancestors, or rather with the cult of the family hearth. I have pointed out before[3] that each Koryak family has its guardians and its incantations. The family hearth, the chief family guardian, is averse to admitting strangers. Since primitive man views every stranger as a possible foe, the family guardians are inimically disposed toward every stranger, and are ready to guard the family against the evil eye, word, and other magic acts of strangers. Access to the family hearth is had with difficulty only. Besides, the family hearth is connected with the deceased relatives whose souls return in new-born children. Marriages between two

[1] See J. J. McLennan, The Levirate and Polyandry (The Fortnightly Review, London, 1877, Vol. XXI, pp. 694—707).

[2] See E. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, London, 1901, p. 510.

[3] See Part I, pp. 46, 59.